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flute or the *teponaztli* on the roof of the chapel, one or more sacred dances and sometimes *toros*—all constitute a program of ritual and entertainment which occupies from one to seven days. Although members of other *barrios* take part in the entertainment, the *barrio* whose *santo* is celebrated acts as host, and its members very much feel their collective importance.[20]

Barrio *esprit de corps* is also reflected in the inter-barrio competition, especially at the Carnaval, in the claims of superior miraculousness of some barrio saints as over against others, and in the traditional nicknames of each of the barrios. More recently, the soccer teams were organized on an inter-barrio basis, but this did not last.

Yet it would be easy to overestimate the strength of this *esprit de corps*[21] and the differences between the barrios. For example, Redfield wrote:

> The *barrios* have, indeed, obviously different cultures, or what is the same thing, different personalities. The varying characteristics of the *barrios* are recognized by the Tepoztecans themselves, and at least the more reflective of them can express the differences they feel. Thus, Santo Domingo is the most civilized *barrio* and the most patriotic (i.e., most nearly conscious of national feeling). . . . Santa Cruz is strongly primitive—Catholic, exclusive, and independent. . . . San Pedro is a *barrio* of poor, illiterate people who preserve to a marked extent ancient mentality and resent the presence of outsiders in their midst. . . .[22]

The consciousness of *barrio* personalities receives an expression in names which are applied to the *barrios*. These names are in Náhuatl and are in every case names of animals. The names are

| | |
|---|---|
| Santo Domingo | Cacame [Toads] |
| La Santísima | Tzicame [Ants] |
| San Miguel | Techihchicame [Lizards] |
| Santa Cruz and San Sebastián | Tapemaxtlame [*Cacomixtles*] |
| Los Reyes | Metzalcuanime [Maguey Worms] |
| San Pedro | Tlacuatzitzin [*Tlacuaches*][23] |

This account does not describe present-day conditions as observed by the informants and me, and would seem to be a considerable exaggeration of barrio differences even for 1926. At best it would perhaps apply to conditions before 1900 when barrio differences were greater. Barrio nicknames were remembered by our informants, but they are rarely used and have little function in the life of the community. We were also told that a man's barrio could be determined by small differences in dress or manner, but we could observe no such differences, nor were they explained to us. This is not to deny the existence of some barrio differences. It is true, for example, that Santa Cruz has the reputation of being the

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[21] Some of the symptoms of weakness are the very poor turnout of barrio members for the planting and harvesting of the barrio milpa, the lack of candidates willing to serve as *mayordomo*, and the renting out of the barrio milpas on a cash basis.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

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No one attends all fiestas, but all attend some. Widows and older women are known to be *muy fiesteras* and habitually attend as many fiestas as possible. The very poor tend to participate in the fiestas of other barrios and other villages, whereas the well-to-do are more careful to attend the religious services held in the central church. Children especially like to attend fiestas and beg to accompany their mothers or aunts. The sharp drop in school attendance during certain fiesta times is a chronic complaint of the school. Tepoztecans also frequent the fairs of Chalma, Jiutepec, Tepalzingo, Tlayacapan, and Mazatepec. Some go to buy or sell, but others go purely for diversion.

The establishment and increasing popularity of many national and patriotic holidays are making for a new type of diversion in the village. These occasions differ from the traditional fiestas, in that they are organized by the school staff and are carried out by the children. They consist of plays, dances, recitations, speeches in explanation of the holidays, and singing of national songs. Parades of school children are also becoming familiar events during the year. These celebrations are liked and well attended, and are becoming more and more a significant part of local life. Other contributions of the school to local entertainment are occasional dances and *kermeses*, at which food and drinks are sold and games played to raise money for various school needs. These activities are enjoyed by the young people, but attendance is generally small because of the resistance of the older generation to modern ballroom dancing; they look upon it as immoral, even when supervised. The school organizes occasional excursions for the children, but since these involve some expense many parents do not permit their children to participate. A literary and dramatic group was once organized in the school, but it was short lived because of local criticism and gossip.

Perhaps the next most common form of diversion is to go to Cuernavaca on one pretext or other. On Sundays, groups of young men take the bus to Cuernavaca where they spend the day walking about, playing pool, drinking in the *cantinas*, and visiting with prostitutes. Other men go to Cuernavaca for secret rendezvous with widows or married women from Tepoztlán. Women and girls go to Cuernavaca to buy or sell things at the market and to look at the store windows. A few of the more citified girls go to Cuernavaca to attend the movies and to buy the latest fashion magazines. Although it is impossible to estimate the effect of the pressure of this small but sophisticated tourist center on Tepoztlán, it is certain that it plays a strong role in providing a source of diversion and temporary personal freedom.

Sports as a form of popular diversion are limited. The traditional cockfights are all but gone and the *jaripeo* (rustic rodeo), although still liked, is declining because of the lack of skill and interest on the part of young men. Hunting is seldom indulged in as a sport, and even less so as a source of food supply. Those who are hard pressed to earn a living find it more profitable to spend the slack seasons working as peons for others. Singing and serenading at night is still popular among young men and is a source of pleasure for most villagers.

Organized sports or games were first introduced in Tepoztlán in 1922 as a con-

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sequence of a national campaign by the Minister of Education. Baseball, soccer, basketball, and volleyball were taught by the school and had immediate appeal among the youth. From the first, soccer was most popular. In 1929 a sports club of 22 soccer players, all from the three center barrios, was organized. The popularity of the game developed slowly until 1930, when the number of enthusiasts increased sharply because of the efforts of a new school director. Between 1934 and 1936, at the time that the road was being built, there were as many as 15 soccer teams. Even the religious barrio of Santa Cruz had its team. This enthusiasm lasted for about three years. In 1939 no soccer team existed and the interest in the sport lapsed for a few years.

There are now five teams, four in the large, center barrios and one in the small barrio of Los Reyes. The teams play against each other with the traditional barrio spirit of competition. They also play against teams from Cuernavaca and other nearby towns. There is no athletic field in the village, and the center teams play in the large yard of the Cathedral while the Los Reyes team rents a field. The scarcity of level land makes it impossible to use any of the communal land, and the young men are thinking of buying a plot of land for an athletic field. The only equipment bought by the team is the ball. About half of the players own special soccer shoes, the other half play barefoot or in huaraches.[14]

The teams usually play to an audience of small boys. Adults are disinterested in games or actively disapprove of them, and parents do not permit their daughters to attend. When teams from other villages play, only a few girls from the center barrios come to watch. The skill and triumphs of the players are appreciated by a handful of people; there are no fans and there is no community spirit in connection with this sport.

In 1947, when a Cultural Mission was in Tepoztlán, there was an attempt made to stimulate wider interest in games by organizing an inter-village competition and appointing committees of *madrinas* or godmothers for each team. The *madrinas* came dressed in white and bearing flowers for each team, but the audiences remained as small as ever.

The advantages of the cooperative action involved in team playing, and the unifying effect of a strong common interest, are experienced only by the actual members of the teams. Small as this group is, their experience in cooperation is of some significance in so highly individualistic a village as Tepoztlán.

Recreational activities in Tepoztlán were further diversified with the opening of a billiard room in 1935. This was another point of conflict between the older people and the younger men of the village. The poolroom was quickly characterized as a breeding place of drunkenness and bad habits. But despite their objections, pool became popular among the boys of all the barrios. When boys began to stay out of school to play, parents forced the local administration to ban poolrooms from admitting boys under eighteen years of age. There are now two poolrooms, one with

[14] A professional soccer player from Mexico City admired the skill of young Tepoztecans in kicking the hard ball with their bare toes.

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608 571 As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

795 195 576 795 851 764 Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in turn by the respectful *Vd*. Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the godparent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and child to the *sacmisa*, or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child appropriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

795 585 586 The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of marriage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators between the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

177 608 571 One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been extended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and confirmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepoztecans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton*,[6] *padrino de medida o listón*,[7] *padrino de evangelio*,[8] *padrino de escapulario*, *padrino del niño Jesús*, and others. It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* relationship is formed.

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526 535 The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white, carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the young people.

608 571 195 521 757 755 755 *Compadres* address each other with the respectful *Vd*. and avoid intimacies. They may not drink together, discuss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respect relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and

[6] The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the godchild as a protection against illness.

[7] The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil.

[8] This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred to a woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's godmother.

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593 883 [594] [882]

them at little provocation. Mothers also tend to spend a good part of the time in gossiping with neighbors or visitors, going to the plaza, and visiting relatives. Some take jobs or start up small businesses and are away from home much of the day. The pleasanter or more rewarding aspects of an adolescent girl's life are the new clothes and little luxuries her parents see fit to buy for her, trips to the plaza or mill, and attendance at church and fiestas. The majority of girls are permitted only a minimum of these. Rewards in terms of higher status, increased respect or authority, or expressions of appreciation or praise are generally absent. Courtship provides a great deal of excitement but also is a source of worry and fear.

### THE ADOLESCENT BOY

883 [594] [735]

It is at the beginning of adolescence that boys begin to work seriously at farming, which is the most important and most respected work in the village. The improved status of boys, their larger share of food, clothing, and spending money, and their increasing authority over younger brothers and sisters, all stem from this. Boys of thirteen and fourteen, who may still be in school, begin to chafe under the confinement, authority, and "childishness" of school, and long to do farming and partake in its rewards. This coincides with the wishes of most parents, for boys of this age generally spend their days working under the supervision of their fathers. Boys who are orphans or whose family owns no land may work with an uncle or brother-in-law during the learning period and later work as hired hands for others. Boys in very poor families sometimes work at simpler tasks for wages several years before adolescence, but this is no longer common.

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The work relations of father and son are generally smoother than that of mother and daughter. The more authoritarian, reserved figure of the father usually inspires the son to complete obedience. Fathers also tend to be more patient and less hurried in teaching their sons, and the work is done side by side, with the father usually taking the heavier burden.

526 883 177 [541]

Interest and participation in sports and other "modern" diversions are becoming characteristic of adolescent boys and older youths in Tepoztlán. Although recreational activities are still quite limited in Tepoztlán, especially when compared with the United States, there is much resistance to them on the part of the older generation. Not only is play generally viewed as a small child's activity exclusively but, even for children, it is often thought of as being a waste of time and having a strong element of danger. In the case of sports for boys of thirteen to twenty or more years of age, it is considered harmful and unnecessary. Parents believe that sports consume the precious energy needed in the milpas; they say that the ax, machete, and team of oxen provide all the exercise a farmer can endure. Mothers complain that their sons get overheated and are particularly liable to *los aires*. Older men tend to dislike the new sports because they are successfully pushing out the older diversions, such as *jaripeos* and cockfights.[1]

[1] For a discussion of new sports and forms of diversion for young people, see Chapter 9, "Wealth Differences and Levels of Living," p. 208.

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957 which is placed in a jar as during the Days of the Posadas. The jar is hung high, and the children try to break it with sticks. The one who breaks it gets a spanking, and all eat the contents.

*A los Novios, or Sweethearts:* The children divide into couples or sweethearts. One is the mother of the girls. When she sends the girls on errands, they are stopped by their sweethearts. When the girls return home late, they are scolded and spanked by their mother.

*Al Vestido, or Dressing Dolls (for girls):* Making dresses for dolls out of leaves or bits of cloth.

*A los Músicos, or Musicians (usually for boys):* Imitating local bands of musicians.

*A los Chinelos, or Dancers:* Dressing in paper masks and *rebozos* or rags to make costumes and jumping like *chinelos* to their own music.

*A los Toros, or Bullfighting:* The girls or small domestic animals generally take the part of the bull and the boys, the part of the matador.

*A Escuelita, or School:* Playing school.

*A la Iglesia, or Church:* A group of girls make an altar, kneel before it, and place flowers and candles on it.

*Al Viaje, or Traveling:* Traveling in a train or bus.

*Al Doctor, or Doctor:* Imitating *curanderos* and local methods of curing with herbs, massages, and cleansings.

NEW GAMES TAUGHT IN SCHOOL

526 *Futbol, or Soccer Game (for older boys):* This game is extremely popular, and some young men continue to play it even after marriage.

*Vollibol, or Volleyball (for boys and girls of the upper grades).*

*Beisbol, or Baseball (for older boys and youths).*

*Basketbol, or Basketball (for older boys and youths).*

524 *Rey de Círculo, or King of the Circle:* A large circle of about three meters in radius is drawn on the ground. All players enter the circle and try to push each other out. The last one to remain is King of the Circle.

*La Metralla, or the Cannon:* Two groups hold hands and form circles, one inside the other. Each circle pushes against the other in an effort to break through.

*Qué Peces Somos, or What Fish Are We:* A large outer circle is formed, each player standing inside a small circle. In the center are four players. The outer circle selects the name of a fish and advances slowly saying, "What fish are we?" If one of the inner circle guesses correctly, all players dash to the outer circle to secure a small circle in which to stand. The four who remain with no small circle must go to the center.